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STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE U.S. ARMY

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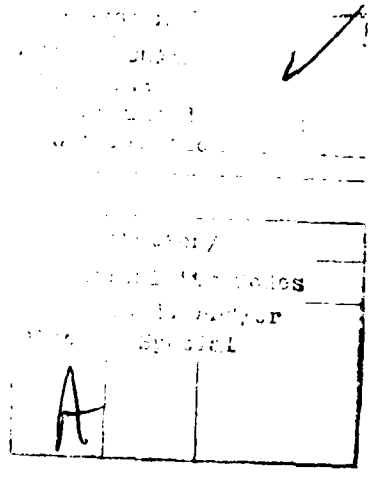

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A series of theoretical and empirical analyses were undertaken to determine changes in the structure of military organization, the nature of military service, and the relationship between military organization and society since the advent of the all-volunteer force. We found that the structure of job-related attitudes among soldiers in the 1970s is similar to that among soldiers in the 1940s. The level of satisfaction, however, is lower today than it was during World War II. As was the case in World War II, black junior enlisted

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Item 20 (Continued)

men today have somewhat higher job satisfaction than do white junior enlisted men.

Military personnel in the all-volunteer force define what constitutes a good job much like their civilian counterparts. Thus, military service has become a job as well as a calling to many. This fact is also reflected in the attitudes that high school seniors have toward military service, with notable variations on the basis of gender and of race.

Many of the traditional linkages between the military establishment and American society have been disrupted by the ending of conscription and the advent of the all-volunteer force, and there is evidence that career personnel retain few ties to the civilian community.

The papers summarized in this report are available as ARI Research Notes 79-23 through 79-29.

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STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE U.S. ARMY

INTRODUCTION

The major results of the research conducted under this grant have been included in a series of papers presented at professional conferences. In addition, these have all been published, been accepted for publication, or are under review for publication. The funding agreement between the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) and the University of Maryland for this project allows for the submission of publications, where appropriate, in lieu of other technical reports. We are taking the liberty of adapting this alternative to the current case and submitting a series of professional papers that report the specifics of our findings. These papers are prefaced by an overview that will highlight the major findings. These papers are prefaced by an overview that will highlight the major findings, identify the questions addressed, and serve as a reader's guide to the professional papers that follow. The papers can then be read either individually or as a set, depending on the needs and interests of the reader.

OVERVIEW

Work-related Attitudes and Job Satisfaction

The initial project task was a comparison of the work-related attitudes of soldiers in the all-volunteer force with the attitudes of soldiers in the conscription-based Army of World War II. Our data base for the all-volunteer Army was a survey conducted for ARI in 1973. Our data base for World War II was a series of surveys conducted by Samuel Stouffer and his colleagues to monitor morale during the 1940s. These surveys, archived at the Roper Public Opinion Research Center, had been physically updated and made compatible with modern generation computer technology by a previous grant from ARI to the Roper Center.

A representative sample of all-volunteer soldiers (junior enlisted men) was compared with 1943 samples of enlisted men, elite enlisted men (airborne infantry and ranger), and enlisted men who had gone AWOL, been returned to military control, and been surveyed while in military correctional facilities. The comparisons focused on nine attitude items concerned with the soldier's relationship to his job. In general, the 1973 soldiers were shown to be more negative toward their jobs than were any 1943 soldiers except the AWOLs, who seemed to be the most similar to the 1973 enlisted men. We note that too many factors are at work to conclude simply that satisfaction is lower in an all-volunteer force than in a conscription-based force. At a minimum, there is a difference between peacetime and wartime armies. Even the World War II data show a decline in emotional commitment and affect between 1943 and 1945.

The specific findings were presented in successive revisions of a paper at meetings of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, the American Association for Public Opinion Research, and the American

Sociological Association. The final version was published under the title, "The Changing American Soldier: Work Related Attitudes of U.S. Army Personnel in World War II and the 1970s," by David R. Segal, Barbara Ann Lynch, and John D. Blair, in the July 1979 issue of American Journal of Sociology. It is available as Research Note 79-23.

One question raised by the 1943-1973 comparison was the effect of racial composition on the aggregate level of job satisfaction in the Army. The World War II samples we had analyzed were composed of white enlisted men serving in a racially segregated force. Our 1973 sample consisted of black and white soldiers serving in a racially integrated force. Previous research had suggested that there is no zero-order relationship between race and job satisfaction in the all-volunteer Army, and we had accepted that finding as an assumption in our own research. We were mindful, however, that if black soldiers did have lower levels of satisfaction than did white soldiers in the all-volunteer force, then that fact might explain in part the apparently lower level of satisfaction in our racially mixed integrated 1973 sample than in our all-white 1943 segregated samples. We therefore undertook a further analysis of the relationship between race and satisfaction in the all-volunteer force.

Drawing upon a survey of Army personnel conducted by the University of Michigan in 1974-75 under a grant from ARI, we compared the satisfaction levels of black and white soldiers in the all-volunteer force. We found that, in general, blacks and whites were about equally satisfied with interpersonal relations in the Army, but that blacks were more satisfied than whites with regard to their work roles and career development. There were important differences between career and noncareer personnel among both blacks and whites, with career personnel being more satisfied. When controlling for pay grade, we found that blacks tend to be more satisfied than whites among both career and noncareer personnel in grades E1 to E4. This result parallels findings from World War II and convinces us that our initial findings on work-related attitudes were not an artifact of the racial composition of the all-volunteer force, except in the sense that our 1973 data might have shown even lower satisfaction levels than they did if we had looked only at white soldiers.

The results of this analysis were presented in a paper entitled "Race and Job Satisfaction in the U.S. Army," by John D. Blair, Richard C. Thompson, and David R. Segal. The paper was presented at a meeting of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, and is scheduled for publication in James Brown, Michael J. Collins, and Franklin D. Margiotta, eds., Changing Military Manpower Realities (Boulder: Westview Press, forthcoming). It is available from ARI as Research Note 79-24.

Another concern we had in our initial analysis of work-related attitudes was the problem of reliability of single-item indicators of satisfaction. Although the emergence of a common pattern over a number of survey items gave us considerable faith in our conclusions, we were uncertain about the pattern of relationships among these items. We therefore returned to the 1943 and 1973 data for a psychometric analysis.

Stouffer's original analysis of the 1943 data had suggested the existence of a unidimensional job satisfaction scale, using very liberal criteria

of Guttman's scalogram analysis. Our own analysis suggested that when more rigorous criteria were applied, the data did not form a Guttman scale. However, the structure of interrelationships among items in the 1973 data was similar to the pattern observed in the 1943 data, suggesting that the concept of job satisfaction had roughly the same meaning for junior enlisted personnel in the two time periods. The analysis also suggested that while enlisted men in a cross-sectional sample in 1973 were significantly less satisfied than their 1943 counterparts had been, they were also significantly more satisfied than the 1943 AWOL sample had been. Thus, we have been led to temper some of our early conclusions.

This analysis is reported in a paper entitled "Job Satisfaction in the U.S. Army: 1943 and 1973," by Robert C. Kramer and David R. Segal (RN 79-25). The paper has been submitted for presentation at the 1980 meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, and for publication in a professional journal.

Institutional and Occupational Models of the Army

The general concern with job satisfaction and work-related attitudes in the Army is rooted in theories about the transition of the Army from a unique institution to a civilian-type workplace, and a concomitant change in the nature of military service from a quasi-sacred calling to a more or less ordinary job. In the light of these theories, which are being taken seriously both by the social science community and by policy-makers within the military establishment, we undertook a series of analyses to determine, as best we could with cross-sectional data, the degree to which military personnel are coming to view their service as a job.

We turned again to the survey data from 1974-75, which contained a series of questions that we felt tapped the dimensions of perceptions of military service as a calling versus perceptions of military service as a job. For these personnel, characteristics of a job (steady work, fringe benefits, pay) were more important in defining their ideal employment than were characteristics of a calling (serving the country, making the world a better place).

We found that, in general, personnel who scored high on their evaluations of "job" characteristics scored high on their evaluations of "calling" characteristics as well. That is, the two orientations were not mutually exclusive. Officers tended to score higher than enlisted men on these dimensions, and career-oriented personnel scored higher than noncareer personnel. There was no difference between soldiers in combat units and those in noncombat units.

These results were reported in successive revisions of a paper at meetings of the International Sociological Association, the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, and the American Sociological Association. The most recent version (RN 79-26), entitled "Institutional and Occupational Values in the U.S. Military," by David R. Segal, John D. Blair, Joseph Lengermann, and Richard Thompson, is scheduled for publication in James Brown, Michael J. Collins, and Franklin D. Margiotta, eds., Changing Military Manpower Realities (Boulder: Westview Press, forthcoming).

A somewhat different approach to the institutional and occupational models involved an analysis of the way that American youth view the military, particularly as these views are affected by race and by gender. Data from a sample of high school seniors, surveyed by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan, were analyzed by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan, were analyzed to determine occupational and institutional orientation toward work. The analysis showed that high school males were more occupationally than institutionally oriented, whereas females are more institutionally oriented. There were differences by race and gender in willingness to volunteer for service, in perceptions of discrimination in the service, and in images of service life. These differences are discussed by Faye E. Dowdell in RN 79-27, "Gender Differences in Orientations toward Military Service," which was presented at a meeting of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, and is scheduled for publication in James Brown, Michael J. Collins, and Franklin D. Margiotta, eds., Changing Military Manpower Realities (Boulder: Westview Press, forthcoming).

The Civil-Military Interface

Our concerns with work-related attitudes and with changing definitions of the military organization and military role are manifestations of a broader theoretical concern with the ways in which the American military institution relates structurally to its host society. Many of the interface processes reflect formal constraints imposed by the legal status of civil-military relations in America, and by the goals of our normative definition thereof. A range of theoretical issues in this area is raised in Research Note 79-28 by David R. Segal, "Models of Contemporary American Civil-Military Relations." A presentation based on this paper was given to Task Force Delta at Headquarters, TRADOC, in September 1979. The paper is scheduled for publication in Alan Sabrosky and Judith Sabrosky, eds., The Eagle's Brood (Westport: Greenwood Press, forthcoming).

Some of the theoretical issues raised in this area, particularly as they involve rank-and-file soldiers in the all-volunteer force, are addressed empirically in Research Note 79-29 by John D. Blair, "Internal and External Integration at the Nonelite Civil-Military Interface." Blair finds differences between career and noncareer soldiers in the degree to which they maintain close sociometric ties to the civilian community. For enlisted men in particular, friendship ties to the civilian community in turn are related to attitudes about civil-military relations. This paper was presented at a meeting of the Peace Science Society, and has been submitted to a professional journal for publication.

CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS

David R. Segal, Barbara Ann Lynch, & John D. Blair, "Work Related Attitudes of U.S. Army Personnel in World War II and the 1970s." American Journal of Sociology, vol. 85, no. 1 (July 1979): 95-108.

John D. Blair, Richard C. Thompson, & David R. Segal, "Race and Job Satisfaction in the U.S. Army," in James Brown, Michael J. Collins, & Franklin D. Margiotta, eds., Changing Military Manpower Realities (Boulder: Westview Press, forthcoming).

David R. Segal, John D. Blair, Joseph Lengermann, & Richard Thompson, "Institutional and Occupational Values in the U.S. Military," in ibid.

Faye E. Dowdell, "Gender Differences in Orientations toward Military Service," in ibid.

David R. Segal, "Models of Contemporary American Civil-Military Relations," in Alan Ned Sabrosky and Judith Sabrosky, eds., The Eagle's Brood (Westpoint: Greenwood Press, forthcoming).

Two additional papers are currently under review for publication.

GRADUATE STUDENTS SUPPORTED BY THE GRANT

One graduate student worked as a research assistant on this project and received direct remuneration from grant funds. Three additional graduate students worked on the project and had part of their research expenses paid out of grant funds, but received no stipend or remuneration.

Faye E. Dowdell, M.A., 1978. Thesis title: Gender Differences in Orientations Toward Military Service: A Study of High School Seniors.

Robert Chier Kramer, M.A., 1979. Thesis title: Job Satisfaction: A Comparison of the Structure of Work Related Attitudes of United States Army Personnel in 1943 and 1973.

Barbara Ann Lynch, M.A., 1979. Thesis title: Racial Differences in Job Satisfaction in the All-Volunteer Army.

Richard Charles Thompson, Jr., M.A., 1979. Thesis title. The Two-Force Structure and Two Types of Compliance in the United States Army.